

Similarities and Differences between Clauses and Nominals - Comparative Syntax across Theoretical Approaches

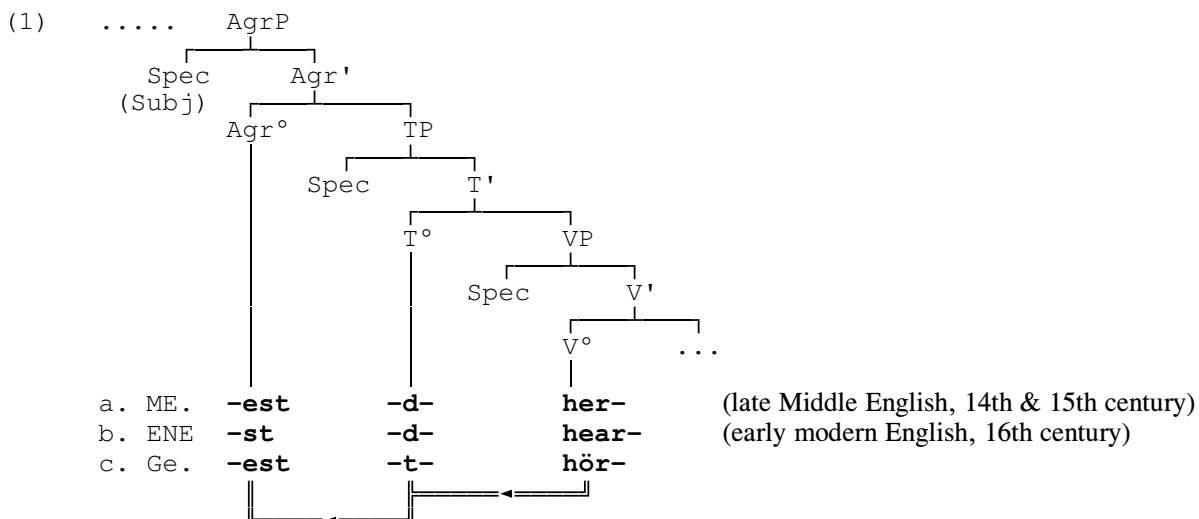
Sten Vikner

Sektion for Engelsk, Institut for Sprog, Litteratur og Kultur,
Aarhus Universitet, DK-8000 Århus C, Denmark

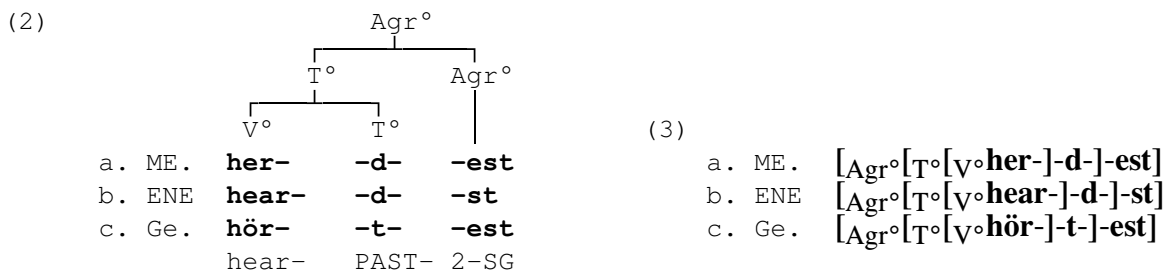
8942 6522 - sten.vikner@hum.au.dk - www.hum.au.dk/engelsk/engsv

Extra hand-out: Splitting I° into Agr° and Tns° (and IP into AgrP and TnsP)

Pollock (1989) suggests that I° actually consists of two different heads. T° (for tense) and Agr° (for agreement). Pollock (1989:386) further suggests that T° is higher than Agr°, but I shall here follow Belletti (1990:28) and Chomsky (1995:150, 173), who suggest the structure and the derivation (or at least checking) of finite verbs shown in (1):



This means that the end result, i.e. the finite verb in I°, looks as follows when we put it under the microscope:

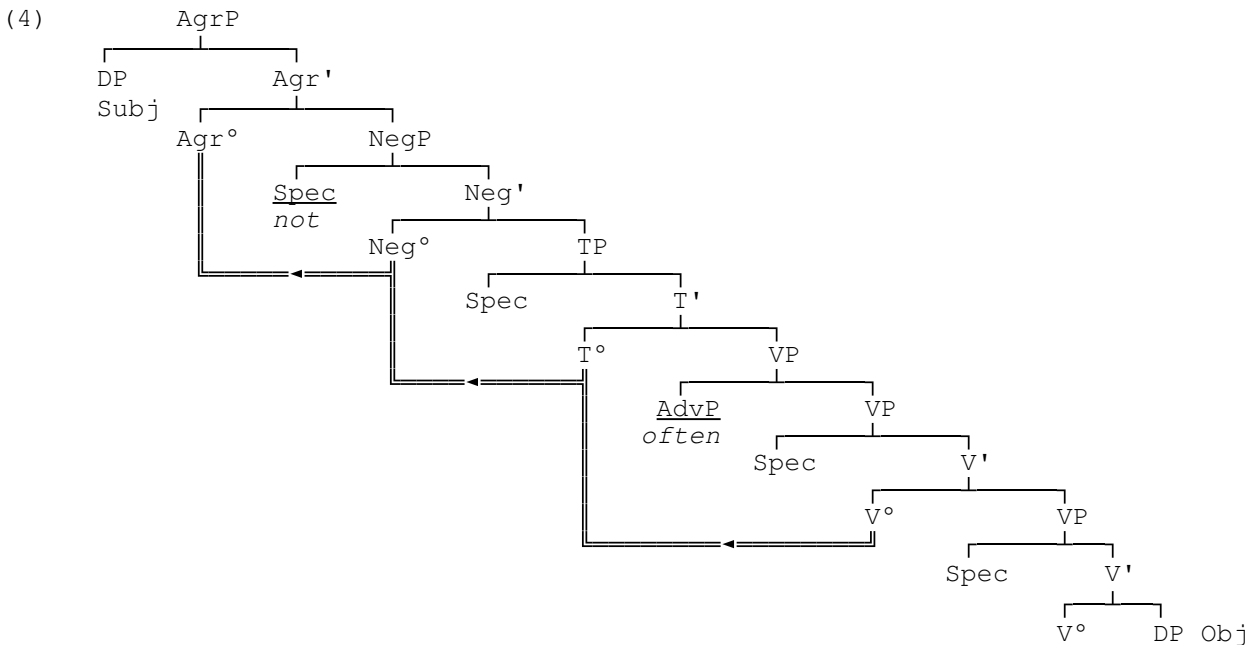


The idea that the different morphemes of the finite verb reflect the order of lexical and functional heads is called the "Mirror Principle", following Baker (1988:13).

A different reason to assume the split-Infl analysis has to do with the actual position of the verb, even if all the evidence comes from French infinitival verbs.

Between Agr° and T° there may be a **negation**. Belletti (1990:30), based on Pollock (1989:397) and Moritz (1989), suggest that NegP is the sister of Agr° and TP is the sister of Neg°. Presumably negations which are full XPs, e.g. En. *not*, Da. *ikke*, Fr. *pas* and Ge. *nicht*, occur in NegP-spec, whereas "clitic" negations, like En. *n't* and Fr. *ne*, occur in Neg°.

Between T° and V° there may be a **sentence adverbial**. I shall continue to assume this to be adjoined to VP.



If we only consider evidence from finite verbs, as on my project hand-out, 07.02.2008, we will not find any support for splitting I°, as finite verbs are always either in Agr° or in V°:

		Agr°	Neg	T°	Adv	V°		
(5)	a. Fr.	Jean	<u>lit</u>		souvent		le journal	= (5b)
	b. En.	John			often	<u>reads</u>	the newspaper	
	c. En.	John	<u>has</u>		often	<u>read</u>	the newspaper	
	d. Fr.	Jean	ne <u>lit</u>	pas	souvent		le journal	= (5e)
	e. En.	John	does	not	often	<u>read</u>	the newspaper	
	f. En.	John	has	not	often	<u>read</u>	the newspaper	

When we turn to infinitives in French, distinguishing between Agr° and T° allows a more precise description. Infinitive main verbs may be in V° or in T° but not in Agr°:

		Agr°	Neg	T°	Adv	V°	
(6)	a.	Ne	pas			<u>parler</u>	l'italien après ...
	b. *	Ne	<u>parler</u>	pas			l'italien après ...
			<i>speak</i>	<i>not</i>			<i>Italian after ...</i>
	c.				A peine	<u>parler</u>	l'italien après ...
	d.			<u>Parler</u>	à peine		l'italien après ...
				<i>Speak</i>	<i>hardly</i>		<i>Italian after ...</i>

... cinq ans d' étude dénote une manque de don pour les langues
 ... five years of study denotes a lack of gift for languages

(adapted from Pollock 1989:377-379, (24a), (27a), (29a))

The same again with slightly different data:

- (7) Fr. a. T° Adv V°
lire souvent Joyce est utile pour le comprendre
 b. Souvent lire Joyce est utile pour le comprendre
 (Read) often (read) Joyce is useful for him to understand
 (Moritz 1989:34, (46))

- (8) Fr. a. Agr° Neg T° Adv V°
 *Ne lire pas souvent Joyce est compréhensible
 b. Ne pas lire souvent Joyce est compréhensible
 c. Ne pas souvent lire Joyce est compréhensible
 -- (Read) not (read) often (read) Joyce is understandable
 ((8b,c) are from Moritz 1989:34, (47))

Consider finally infinitive auxiliaries, which may be in V°, in T° or in Agr°:

- (9) Fr. a. Agr° Neg T° Adv V°
 Jean-Pierre avoue n'être pas souvent à l' heure
 b. Jean-Pierre avoue ne pas être souvent à l' heure
 c. Jean-Pierre avoue ne pas souvent être à l' heure
 Jean-Pierre admits (be) not (be) often (be) at the time
 (Rowlett 1998:6, (6))

References

- Baker, Mark: 1988, *Incorporation*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
 Belletti, Adriana: 1990, *Generalized Verb Movement*, Aspects of Verb Syntax, Rosenberg & Sellier, Turin.
 Chomsky, Noam: 1995, *The Minimalist Program*, MIT Press, Cambridge MA.
 Moritz, Luc: 1989, "Aperçu de la syntaxe de la négation en français et en anglais", M.A. thesis, University of Geneva.
 Pollock, Jean-Yves: 1989, "Verb Movement, Universal Grammar, and the Structure of IP" in *Linguistic Inquiry* 20.3, 365-424.
 Rowlett, Paul: 1998, *Sentential Negation in French*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.